



Communist University Introductions

These texts may be used as “openings to discussion” of the original reading texts that are supplied by the CU. They are not intended to be authoritative or conclusive. They are contributions to discussion like any other such contributions. The introductions are not a substitute for the reading texts.

Induction, Part 6

IN
THE
BEGINNING
WAS
THE
WORD

The Party is not an NGO

The Party's Production

What the Party produces is communication.

The Party researches, discusses and prepares, formats, lays out, prints, and distributes words, pictures and “text” of all kinds. All of its processes go one way – towards communication.

Communication has costs. Communication costs are our main costs. And communication is labour-intensive.

This is the background to this part of our Induction course, which covers Fundraising and Events.

No Funders, No Donors, and No Sponsors

The Communist Party is not an NGO, and so there are, as a rule, no funders for the Communist Party of the kind that fund the usual NGOs. Such funders give for their own reasons, and to pursue their own agenda, which generally is not our agenda.

The working class must, as a rule, pay for its politics, and the closer the working class comes to its revolutionary objectives, the more this will be true; so we must get used to it.

Therefore we begin with the presumption that there is no ready-made source of disinterested or charitable funding. We have to get used to managing without such imaginary sources. We have to look for sources of funding who are interested: partisan.

These may be our own members, and individuals who are, as the saying goes, “close to the Party”. They may include Trade Union structures at various levels. Or, they may include class forces that are not working-class, but who see their interests coinciding with those of the Party.

Managing without, and living off the land

The Party must manage without funds coming from above it. There is no “Manna from Heaven” for the Party.

The Party must to a large extent “live off the land”, and pay as it goes. At local level especially, it cannot spend money without raising money.

Party members meet with each other, and they meet with other structures. While doing so they pay their own way, treating party business as part of their lives. This is one part of “living off the land”.

To the extent that the Party needs to go further than this basic level of activity, of individual party members communicating using their own resources, then it must gather the means close at hand.

This means that the Party is, and must be, supported by the close community where it exists.

Close in time

The local Party will not usually be able to hold substantial funds over time. The idea of raising funds separately in time from the expenditure that the funds are raised for, is not the best model upon which which fundraising should be conceived.

Rather, the fundraising effort and the activity upon which funds are going to be spent, should as far as possible be one and the same thing.

This principle can be taken one step further and made routine. We can then make it a rule that all activities of the Party should be fund-raising activities.

Accounting should be central, and it should be normal that there will be a surplus on all activities undertaken, which will be conserved by the Treasurer. In this way, the Treasurer's function becomes crucial to the fund-raising effort. But the Treasurer is not a fundraiser.

Actually, the Treasurer should be the last person to be involved in fundraising, as such. The Treasurer is the keeper, and not the raiser of funds.

Let us look at this in practice, remembering that we have already said, above, that what the Party produces is communication. Let us look at some different kinds of communication.

Branch

At all Branch and Committee meetings (BGM, BEC and Sub-Committee Meetings), money should be collected and passed to the Treasurer of the Branch, without exception. It should be normal that these collections generate a surplus over expenses. Vouchers should be generated, records kept and reports made, in the manner indicated elsewhere in this part.

Literature and Merchandise

World-wide, the Communist Parties have a tradition of being book-sellers and hard-copy news-and-opinion outlets, for its own members and for its community. The SACP needs to reverse the priority from money-making to propaganda; but having done so, then to make more money than before from these activities.

The same applies to merchandise. The Party should not try to sell general clothing, but should sell for the occasion. The occasion should drive the sales. Sell for wearing on the day, and not for taking home.

Solidarity speech

You are invited to attend a meeting, and make an input. You ask for a contribution to the Party. Why not? The Party can only exist if it is supported by the working class. We do not have to apologise for that fact. Asking for funds for the party should be normal.

Local Public Meeting

Likewise, if the party holds a Public Meeting, it should call for contributions, at the door, by collection in the crowd with buckets, and by direct request from the platform.

How to do a collection

One way to do a collection from the platform of a meeting or a rally is to use good-humoured and popular person, and have that person call for large notes. "Who is going to give R200? Come on all you government officials. Come on all you senior managers" And so forth. Even if you only get one public sight of a R200 note, it sets the example for the next round, which is the call for R100 notes. Then the shouter gets so many of those, and waves them around. There can be jokes. There could be a song. Then the next round calls for R50s. Time is taken. A good atmosphere⁴ is cultivated. Then the R20s. Then the R10s. People can give twice. There is no rule that says because you gave R100, you cannot give R20. And so it goes until the fundraiser asks for all the metal cash money in the house.

The fundraiser needs helpers with buckets.

This method of fund-raising from an audience works well and it makes people feel good.

The money must go straight to the Treasurer, and here can also be seen, again, the reason why the Treasurer is not a fundraiser.



Fundraising

The function of the Treasurer is crucial to fundraising, but it is not fundraising.

The Treasurer provides a safe place to conserve the funds that have been raised. This is a pre-requisite for successful fundraising. Without it, the funds will disappear.

Therefore it becomes a rule that all funds raised are passed to the Treasurer, and it is the duty of all concerned to be sure that a record has been created, in the form of a “voucher”.

Expenditure of the funds raised must take place by decision of the collective, and must be recorded properly as such, and in all detail.

The Levy

The Party requires all its members to pay a levy, in an amount calculated in relation to the member’s income. It is what is otherwise called, in religious organisations, a tithe.

What happens to the levy money?

The levy money goes to the centre, and it is spent by the centre. Some of the money is used to pay the salaries of full-time Party workers at the Provincial level, at the discretion of the Party centre.

No part of the levy money is likely to return to the levels below Province (District, Sub-District, Branch and Unit).

This goes to reinforce the necessity of fundraising as part of any function or activity. One good example is literature. Literature for the Party has a political meaning, first. But, literature should not be an expense for the branch. It should generate a surplus.

Literature

The circulation of literature is a revolutionary priority, one that Lenin in particular wrote about.

In some other communist parties, a position of Literature Secretary is maintained as a branch office-bearer ranking with the Chairperson, Secretary, and Treasurer.

In modern circumstances, where media of communications are changing, this function needs constant thought and re-thinking.

Literature – text – has to be sourced and/or written, and transmitted, and this movement of text needs to be reciprocated by a movement of resources in the opposite direction, so as to cover costs.

The Internet, with practically zero marginal cost of use (meaning the next transmission costs next to nothing), gives the impression of being altogether cost-free. But in fact, content production is fully labour-intensive. It increases only in proportion to the direct input of human labour.

The tools of the trade are not cost-free, and they need to be replaced on a 3-year cycle.

At the same time, this production can be quite localised, as well as being part of absolutely global networking.

The prizes go to those who can aggregate inputting capacity, which is labour-intensive. Co-operation is the key, and money collection is crucial to the cohesion of any collaboration of this kind.

Lenin on organisation of the Party

Lenin faced similar concerns to those that we are faced with today in South Africa in 2013. Of course, there was no Internet. But there was a strongly-expressed relation

between the local and the national, and Lenin asked, during the controversies that followed the Second Congress off the RSDLP that has split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, but which resulted in the loss to Lenin of his magazine Iskra.

In the attached document, (Part B from Chapter 5 of Lenin's 1902 work, "What Is To Be Done?" Lenin puts the matter like this:

"Unless we train strong political organisations in the localities, even an excellently organised all-Russia newspaper will be of no avail. This is incontrovertible. But the whole point is that there is no other way of training strong political organisations except through the medium of an all-Russia newspaper."

This course is intended as an Induction into the world of the SACP. In this world, there are two poles, the local and the national. In between, there are Districts and Provinces, but the crucial parts are the Branches, and the National centre. This much is as it was in Lenin's days.

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [Can A Newspaper Be A Collective Organiser?, Lenin, 1902.](#)
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Induction, Part 6b



Cash-or-kind

To repeat: The Party must live off the land, raising its means as it goes along.

In this item, we will look at who the people are in the community who have money.

Let us presume that the working class is organised, in trade unions, in the Party, and in other mass organisations. We have dealings with them through their mass organisations, as described earlier in this part. We ask them for support and we do get support from the Mass Democratic Movement. To the extent that they have structures at local level, we can do the same, there.

The other people who have money in the community, at local level, are the local business people. These are the petty-bourgeoisie, and the locality is their home and the place where they are nurtured and reproduced.

A mature local communist party will be in touch with the petty-bourgeoisie, will know them personally, and will be known by them in a frank and friendly relationship.

The petty bourgeoisie is not the main class we represent, but nor is it the main class that we oppose. The communists have to be the leaders of the whole society. In the process of building socialism now, we have to be able to form alliances with other classes.

In the past, and in the liberation struggle in particular, some shopkeepers and small business producers did support the liberation movement. They have their own reasons for wanting to do so, which the communists should learn to understand. If we are not getting at least a small amount of support from them, we are probably not doing everything right.

Therefore the communists should not rule out approaching the local business for assistance. They should make a point of doing so, in order to learn what is possible in the relationship between themselves and this class that has its full field of operations in the locality.

We should begin to make it a habit, even if the beginnings of this relationship are slow and difficult. In the process we should listen carefully, so as to find out what this class of people, potential allies, think they can get from us. This may be advocacy, even a campaign, but it may also have an intellectual or ideological nature. We should be ready to respond.



Storming the Winter Palace

Revolutionary Events

This item is very welcome as part of this course. In the spirit of the preceding three items in this part, it is included under “fundraising”, or, we can say, “Fundraising and Events”.

Clearly, for the Party, there are hardly any events that can be funded from any prior general fund that the Party possesses. There are too few available funds of that kind, even at National level.

Even worse, in fact potentially catastrophic for the Party, is the idea of holding an event and then raising funds to pay for it, afterwards. This is a recipe for bankruptcy.

Therefore, events of all kinds have to be conceived of as self-funding. The good part about this is that if we can make a practice of self-contained and self-funding events,

then the Party can do any number of things, and it can hope to generate surpluses, of greater amounts as time goes on and as we become more experienced.

We are not likely to start at the scale of the events described in the document, but this does not mean that the document is not suitable. Smaller events will have to cover all of the matters that are written larger and in more detail in the plans of large events. We can study at the big scale and scale down for our first attempts.

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [Event Management Plan Toolkit, Australia, 2013](#).

Induction, Part 7



The Late Cde Hugo Chavez facing the Masses

Once More on the Mass and the Vanguard

The political field of South Africa, within which we live and act, can be divided like this:

- Political Parties and voluntary mass organisations
- Local State: Councils, Ward Committees, Community-Police Forums, School Governing Bodies
- The National State and Provinces: Elected Government, Ministries and Departments

- Big companies and parastatals
- Small companies and Co-ops
- Trade Unions
- Religious organisations and NGOs

Political Parties and voluntary mass organisations include both Mass and Vanguard, and are in turn separate from the State's ways and means of organising the masses.

We have earlier said that the main work of the communists has to be done outside of the confines of the Party, among people who are not communists. The vanguard Party does not define itself outside of the revolution. We have said that the Party itself has mass. The Party has internal democracy, as well as centralism, and the Party's Constitution is a good one. In the discussion of the Mass and the Vanguard, the Party and the Class, we are therefore not talking of two separate entities. We are not attempting to define one, and then the other, and then join the two together. Instead, we are talking of a relation.

We can further repeat what the General Secretary of the SACP has said on more than one occasion: That we as the SACP accept responsibility for this revolution.

The State organises the masses via national, provincial and local demarcations, in elections, and in "Local State" structures. We can see this in Venezuela, where the direct patronage of the state in the organisation of the masses is, or is intended to be, pervasive (i.e. everywhere in the country), touching everybody and including everybody. In South Africa we have a local state, and we also have benefits to individuals and families that are paid out by the state. But we also have voluntary mass democratic organisations on a big scale.

To begin the discussion about mass organisations and the local state, in our attached reading for discussion, we look at Venezuela via George Ciccariello-Maher's interview with Venezuela's Minister of Communes, Reinaldo Iturriza (attached). Reinaldo Iturriza is among other things complaining about what he calls "vanguardism", including in his own Party (the PSUV), but also in the Communist Party of Venezuela.

Iturriza sees the way forward, not through organs of people's power, soviets, or dual power, but in the practice of mass elections. Iturriza seems to believe that the Venezuelan masses will always be "Chavist" and will always vote accordingly. He does not dwell long upon the fact that in the recent election, the overall margin of victory was only 1.5%.

It is possible that the neo-liberals will win once and then strip the public wealth of Venezuela in record time, leaving no material basis for a resurrection of Chavism.

Venezuela will then be like Libya, which as the late Colonel Gaddafi predicted, was turned into “Somalia” in record time; and what Ruth First wrote about Libya may apply as well to Venezuela, i.e. that its ideology is that of class-formation of a petty-bourgeoisie.

Here is some of what we have been able to find out about Venezuela from Internet research:

Reinaldo Iturriza is a former journalist and/or sociologist who was, after the election of Nicolás Maduro to the Presidency in April 2013, the Venezuelan Minister of the People's Power for the Communes and Social Protection. (All Ministers in Venezuela are currently called “Minister of the People's Power for...”)

In our South African terms, the closest equivalent to Iturriza’s ministry would be the Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, while most of its business appears to be having to do with what we would call development projects, such as housing. The funding for such projects comes from central government.

Venezuelan Communal Councils approximately correspond in size to a South African Voting District. Communes, in which at least 10 Communal Councils are joined, form units that would be the size of several electoral wards in South Africa. How these Communal Councils and Communes relate to the Venezuelan voting demarcations is not known by the CU at this time. If you know, please tell us.

The Communal Councils were first formed following the introduction of the Law of Communal Councils in April 2006. By 2009 “30,179 had been created and a further 5000 were in formation”. The process of forming Communes began later, in 2010. (see [here](#))

In Iturriza’s Ministry there are other “Social Missions” and projects with various social purposes. These seem to resemble nationalised non-profit organisations, funded by direct grants from central government.

The South African way of institutionalising People’s Power, practised now for over 100 years, is to develop free-standing mass democratic organisations. These are the ones we will look at in the subsequent items within this 7th part of our course.

In South Africa, if the ANC loses an election, the people’s voluntary mass-democratic structures will still be in place, as they are today in the Western Cape Province, for example, under the DA provincial government.

This is the reason why the reactionaries are trying so hard to destroy the ANC, the trade unions, and the Party, and conversely it is why we are determined to defend and to grow these mass institutions.

But also in South Africa, on the other hand, we have “Ward Committees”. These have spring from the same kind of patronising thinking that has created the Venezuelan Communal Councils. Both were conceived by, are regulated by, and are paid for by, central government. Instead of being the voice of the people, as they pretend, they are the voice of government.

Mass democratic organisations have the potential to become autonomous organs of people’s power during a dual-power revolutionary transition of power from one class to another. Ward committees and the like, including the Venezuelan “Communes”, have no such potential.

The living realities of revolutionary Venezuela and of revolutionary South Africa invite objective and subjective comparisons, including in the concept of “delivery” and “beneficiaries”, which infest both of these societies and bring with them the temptation towards “clientelism”, paternalism and filialism.

Our challenge is to bring on something like a Revolutionary Subject of History to have its moment, and then to move off-stage, leaving after all not democracy, but freedom. Lenin’s question, “[What Is To Be Done](#)” is really about that, and Lenin’s book of that title, which we have quoted in the previous part of this course, is itself an Induction into the relation of the Party to the Class, and of the Vanguard to the Mass.

The next (second) item in this part will have to do with the ANC and its Leagues, and SANCO, while noting the mass-democratic women’s movement that could exist, but which has never taken off in South Africa. The third item will deal with the trade unions, including but not limited to our liberation-movement ally COSATU and its affiliates. The fourth and last item in this part will deal with the Young Communist League of South Africa.

- **The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [Reinaldo Iturriza, Representation of the People in Venezuela, 2013](#).**
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The Movement:

ANC, Leagues, SANCO, Women

In “[The State and Revolution](#)”, Lenin wrote that democracy, and only democracy, could train people to think together, take decisions together, and act collectively. In the same work, he also wrote that democracy is not freedom. Democracy imposes the will of the majority on the minority and that is not freedom, said Lenin. Democracy is part of the road to freedom, but it is not the last part of that road.

In the South African democratic dispensation there are many more-or-less democratic institutions. In this and the next two parts of this Induction course, we are going to consider both the autonomous Mass Democratic Movement, including COSATU and the ANC, and also the state’s democracy, national, provincial and local, and including Ward Committees, School Governing Bodies, Community-Police Forums, and other such statutory entities.

In this item, we briefly define, for Induction purposes, the ANC, its Leagues, and SANCO.

[African National Congress \(ANC\)](#)

The ANC is an individual-membership mass organisation. At its 100th anniversary on January 8th 2012 it had one million members. By the beginning of 2013 it had 1.2 million members. Since the 52nd National Congress (Polokwane, 2007) it has approximately doubled in membership.

The African National Congress is the liberation movement that incorporates the class alliance between all of the oppressed classes, including the working class. The African National Congress exists to carry out the National Democratic Revolution. The ANC is also in practice a party within the South African constitution, and it has been the ruling party since the first universal-franchise election in 1994.

The ANC has allies, but it is not a federation. Nor is it part of a federation.

ANC Women's League

The ANC Women's League was founded in 1948, five years after the admission of women into the ANC in 1943. The ANCWL is an ANC section for women and not a women's movement for all women.

ANC Youth League

The ANC Youth League was in difficulty and is now under a National Task Team. The ANC Youth League is part of the ANC and does not have a life apart from the ANC. The Youth League normally has a fully developed structure from branch level up to national.

ANC Veteran's League

The ANC Veteran's League is for people with 40 years of unbroken membership in the ANC. It does not organise old people.

SANCO

SANCO is the National Civic Organisation. A Civic Association is a type of mass organisation that arose organically from South African history. The Civics belong to their members, in the localities, and they are therefore the natural home of the local petty-bourgeoisie, whose environment is always local. SANCO is a full member of the formal National Democratic Revolutionary Alliance.

The Women's Movement

There is no mass-membership national democratic Women's Organisation in South Africa that individual women can belong to, simply as women. The Progressive Women's Movement is, according to its own documents, "not a formal structure". In practice this means that it is not democratic. It has no democratic constitution.

The mass-membership national democratic Women's Organisation remains the missing fifth Alliance partner. It is the necessary component of the NDR that has been neglected.

Please read the attached statement of the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC). It can serve as an example of how the leadership of the movement views the organic structure and relationship between the many parts of the movement.

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [ANC NEC Statement following meeting held on the 17 May 2013.](#)

Induction, Part 7b



Some Unions

The Movement:

COSATU Affiliates and other unions

<u>COSATU Affiliate</u>	<u>Membership 2012</u>	<u>Total membership in previous years:</u>	
		<u>COSATU</u>	
		<u>Year</u>	<u>Membership</u>
CEPPWAWU	80 658	1991	1 212 000
CWU	18 666	1994	1 252 000
DENOSA	74 883	1997	1 791 000
FAWU	126 930	2000	1 869 000
NEHAWU	260 738	2003	1 768 000
NUM	310 382	2006	1 841 400
NUMSA	291 025	2007	1 812 569
PAWUSA	17 146	2008	1 870 537
POPCRU	149 339	2009	1 973 857
SACCAWU	120 352	2010	1 993 387
SACTWU	85 025	2011	2 070 739
SADNU	8 655	2012	2 191 016
SADTU	251 276		
SAFPU	593		
SAMA	7 759		
SAMWU	153 487		
SASAWU	7 074		
SASBO	67 402		
SATAWU	159 626		
Total	2 191 016		

In South Africa, there is a constitutional right to freedom of association which in practice means, among other things, that workers have the right to combine together in trade unions.

This situation also means that, while worker unity is possible, it is also constantly threatened by the “right” of workers to split that unity by forming rival unions. In other words, if workers in a union do not like a majority decision, they are empowered by the law to walk out and start another (rival) union.

This freedom does not exist in the national democracy, where the minority losers of elections are obliged to live under the government of the majority and to obey the laws of the democratic Parliament.

Two unions are not better than one. Two unions organising the same kinds of worker are not united but are potentially divided and even potentially antagonistic.

In effect this leaves the matter of trade union democracy to be decided in action. If we can organise, we can stay united. If we get lazy, then opportunists, liars and

demagogues will come in and take over. Not only will the law protect them, but the bourgeois mass media will also support them, even when they are obvious criminals and *de facto* fascists. We have seen this many times, and recently.

Presently, the South African Trade Unions can be analysed into two kinds: COSATU affiliates (see the tables above); and the others that are not COSATU affiliates. In COSATU a slogan is sometimes heard which says: “Any worker who is not a member of COSATU affiliate remains unorganised!” This is an aggressive stance towards non-COSATU unions.

The SACP is a vanguard party of the working class as a whole. It cannot abandon or shun workers who are in good-faith non-COSATU unions. But the SACP works hard for the goal of one-union-one-industry and one-country-one-federation.

COSATU, in practice, does co-operate with *bona fide* non-COSATU unions, for example in the Public sector collective wage bargaining system (PSCBC), which may involve as many as 17 unions, such as the ones whose logos are illustrated above. More than half of these are non-COSATU unions. In the past, they have at times been treated as, and behaved as, genuine trade unions and comrades in joint struggle.

But the constitutional and legal set-up that we have goes further to allow the appearance of what are actually fake unions, masquerading as unions. The bourgeois media invariably sympathise with any anti-COSATU elements. The rise of “AMCU” is the latest example.

As this item was originally being prepared, the COSATU-affiliated National Union of Mineworkers were preparing for its Central Committee (23-24 May 2013). The NUM’s statement (attached) will illustrate the problem set by the AMCU marauders and the response of our comrades to that challenge, as well as normal trade union concerns including collective bargaining demands and safety.

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [NUM Post Central Committee Press Briefing, 26 May 2013](#).
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Young Communist League

From the YCL Web site:

“The Young Communist League of South Africa is a Marxist-Leninist youth wing of the SACP.

“The YCL stands for Non Racism, Freedom, Equality and the socialisation of the ownership and control of the means of production.”

Preamble of the YCLSA Constitution:

We, the Young Communist League of South Africa founded in 1922, banned in 1950 and re-established in 2003, are a voluntary mass organisation of the youth in South Africa.

We are devoted to the interests of all young people and dedicated to the revolutionary cause of the working class of our country and the globe.

We are committed to and struggle for the transformation of South Africa from a capitalist society to a socialist society in which there is no exploitation of one person or group by another.

The YCLSA recognises the South African Communist Party (SACP) as the political party of socialism in our country and enjoys political and ideological guidance from the SACP.

Young Communists promote the unity of progressive young people of our country with the progressive peoples and youth of all countries.

Aims and Objectives of the YCLSA according to its Constitution:

The YCLSA shall:

- (a) Serve as a preparatory school of the SACP, and shall rally young people behind the programme and policies of the Party and lead them in the struggle to advance youth development as an integral part of human and societal development.
- (b) Strive to develop itself as a leading political force of the South African youth that derives guidance from Marxism-Leninism under the vanguard leadership of the SACP, and promote the interests of young people in the struggle to advance, deepen, defend, take responsibility for and complete the national democratic revolution which represents the shortest, most direct and suited road to socialism in the specific conditions of our society.
- (c) Strive to be the leading force among young people in the struggle for the achievement of socialism which represents a transitional society towards the realisation of complete political liberation and universal emancipation of both human society and nature under the ultimate goal of a classless communist society.
- (d) Struggle for the elimination of all forms of oppression, discrimination based on arbitrary grounds, and economic exploitation, and shall fight against capitalism, its highest stage imperialism and latest forms of manifestation.
- (e) Strive to develop communist, working class political and moral convictions and imbue the spirit of collectivism in our members in particular and young people in general. The YCLSA aims to achieve this by among others organising, educating and mobilising its members in particular and young people in general in support of its aims and objectives and taking active involvement in the day to day struggles of the working people and the youth.
- (f) Reject and fight against crime, corruption, the abuse of women, children, substances, drugs and alcohol.
- (g) Fight for the equality of all young people, and against racism and patriarchy in all forms of their manifestation.

(h) Promote social, recreational and cultural activities among young people.

(i) Promote the understanding among the youth that the working class with a vanguard party is the only class capable of leading the people to socialism and that it is under socialism where for the first time it will be possible to achieve a better life for all.

Please find attached, the Constitution of the Young Communist League of South Africa.

CU comment

As a voluntary mass organisation of the youth, the YCL gives experience of how voluntary mass organisations work and how they are structured. At the same time, as an organisation that is not separate from the SACP, the YCL imparts a sense of what the vanguard party is about.

The YCL educates its members politically, and it inducts them, organisationally, to the whole movement – the National Democratic Revolutionary Alliance.

This part 7 of the CU Induction course has been about the South African mass democratic movement as an environment or field within which the communist party operates.

The next part will be about the State environment in which the Party currently operates, locally, provincially and nationally.

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [YCLSA Constitution, 2013](#).

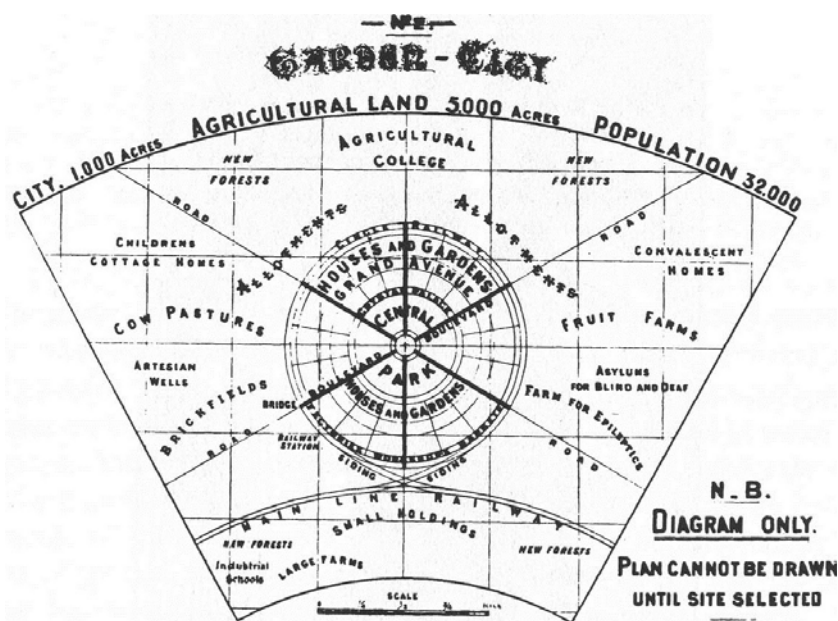


Fig. 2. Ebenezer Howard, *Garden-City No. 2*, 1902, in *Garden Cities of To-morrow*.
Garden City

The Local State

The “Local State” is that part of the state apparatus that is apparent in the localities where people live and work, and with which they interact on a daily basis.

It is not a precise term, but it is a useful one when considering the environment that a branch of the SACP or of the ANC, or a COSATU Local, operates in.

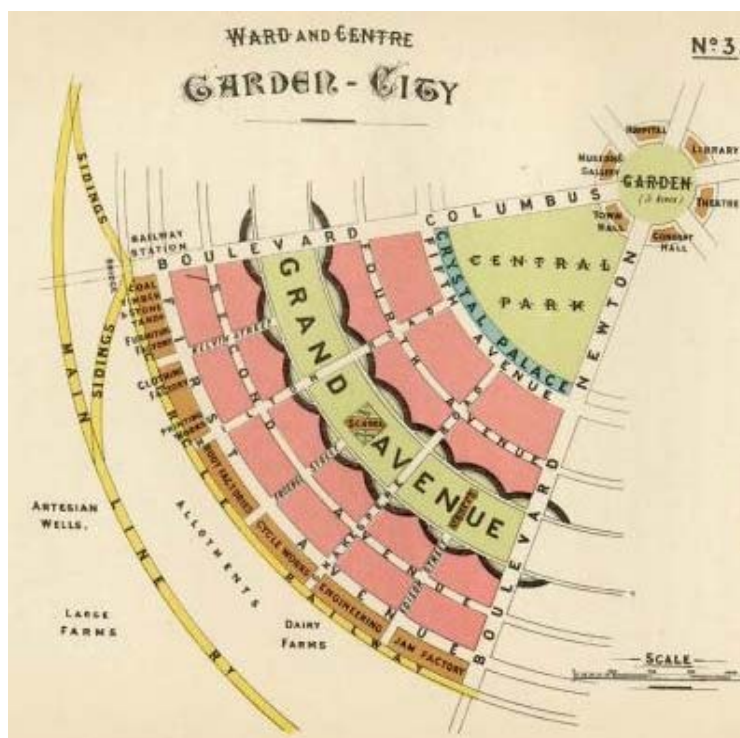
In political terms, the local state, taken as a municipality, is historically the first form of (limited) state power that the bourgeois class (the ruling class of the towns) created under feudalism.

Still, today, the municipality is for the bourgeoisie a natural habitat and a convenient and comfortable home. The ordinary bourgeoisie of the country makes most of its money at this level.

For our text we are going to use the third part of the ANC Branch Manual. It ranges somewhat wider but it contains many references to parts of the “Local State”; and it proposes a correct attitude of study and research into the local state as it exists in every locality, with a view to representing the interests of the people of the area.

The ANC’s class position, as always, is ambiguous. The ANC Branch Manual of 2010 does not mention the SACP, or the Alliance, as a factor at local level. In the section

at we are using (Part 3, attached), it takes on a social-welfare guise, which does indeed reflect the character of the ANC as it often appears in the localities. Of course this is not the totality of the ANC; the ANC, among other things, is a political party of power; and it is a liberation movement. It is all of these things, at once.



Garden City: Ward and Centre

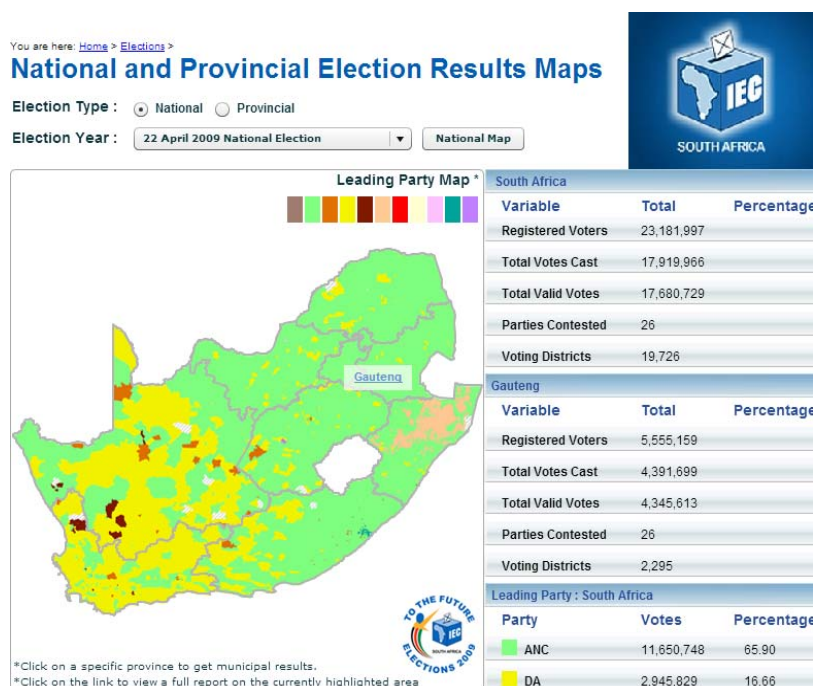
In the remainder of this Part 8, we will proceed to look at the electoral demarcations and then at local and national elections, in a general way.

Here, in this item, we will be content to take an overview of a typical local environment, as reflected in the attached ANC document.

In the next part (Part 9) of the Induction Course, we will be dealing with the building of the different components of the Alliance as subjective, free-willing political agency, with revolutionary potential, as well as with quasi-state institutions that exist at local level that compete directly with the voluntary mass-democratic organisations. These include the Ward Committees, Community-Police Forums and School Governing Bodies.

Illustrations: Two of Ebenezer Howard's diagrams from "Garden Cities of Tomorrow", 1902 – an idealised municipality - an imaginary bourgeois paradise.

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [ANC Branch Manual, 2010, Part 3 of 3](#).



From the [IEC web site](#)

Voting Districts and Wards

Registered voters are about half of the total population. In Gauteng, which has more registered voters than any other Province, Voting Districts contain on average about 2400 voters, and so around 5000 people altogether. Wards may contain four or five Voting Districts. Exactly how many wards there are in Gauteng is not known to the CU at this moment but it may be that the average number of people in a Ward is between 15,000 and 20,000, and half that number of voters.

The IEC runs elections. The [Demarcations Board](#) sets ward boundaries.

The next elections, which will be the municipal, local authority elections, are scheduled to be held in 2016. The election results in 2016 will depend upon the work that is done to revive the ANC Branches.

This is the view that was taken in the attached article, written very soon after the 2014 National and Provincial Elections. Work for the 2016 municipal elections has already begun.

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [New Age Article on the 2014 election, Tweedie, 2014](#)



1994 Ballot Paper

National and Provincial Elections

The National General Elections take place in South Africa every five years. The most recent one took place in 2014, and the previous one took place in 2009. In both cases the ANC was elected with a near 2:1 majority over all other parties, under the leadership of ANC President Jacob Zuma, who was afterwards duly elected to the Presidency of the country.

One thing that parties can do, before the election campaign starts, is to encourage voters to register. **Voter registration drives** are accepted as a way for parties to begin work, without officially campaigning.

The National and Provincial representatives, both to Parliament and to Provincial Legislatures, are elected by a fully Proportional Representation (PR) system. Each party has a list of candidates. When the votes have all been counted, the proportion received by each party is calculated, and members taken from each party list, in proportion to the votes cast for those parties.

Subsequently, if Members of Parliament (MPs), or Members of Provincial Legislatures (MPLs) cease for any reason to be such, they are replaced by others selected by that party.

Making your mark

How many ballot papers will be used?

There will be two ballot papers:

- The first ballot paper will be for the National Assembly.
- The second ballot paper will be for the Provincial Legislature.

The following details appear on the ballot paper:

- The full name of each political party
- The abbreviated name of each party
- The logo or symbol of each party
- A photograph of each party leader
- A blank space in which to indicate the party of your choice.

Before issue, each ballot paper is stamped at the back by an IEC official. This prevents people from trying to bring ballots in from elsewhere.



Things to remember about voting

- A voter's particulars will appear only once on the Voters' Roll.
- Each voter can vote only once.
- Voters with disabilities who need help with voting may be assisted by a person of their choice. The IEC official in charge of the voting station will help voters who cannot read.
- You are not allowed to carry any weapons into a voting station and you may be searched by the South African Police Service.

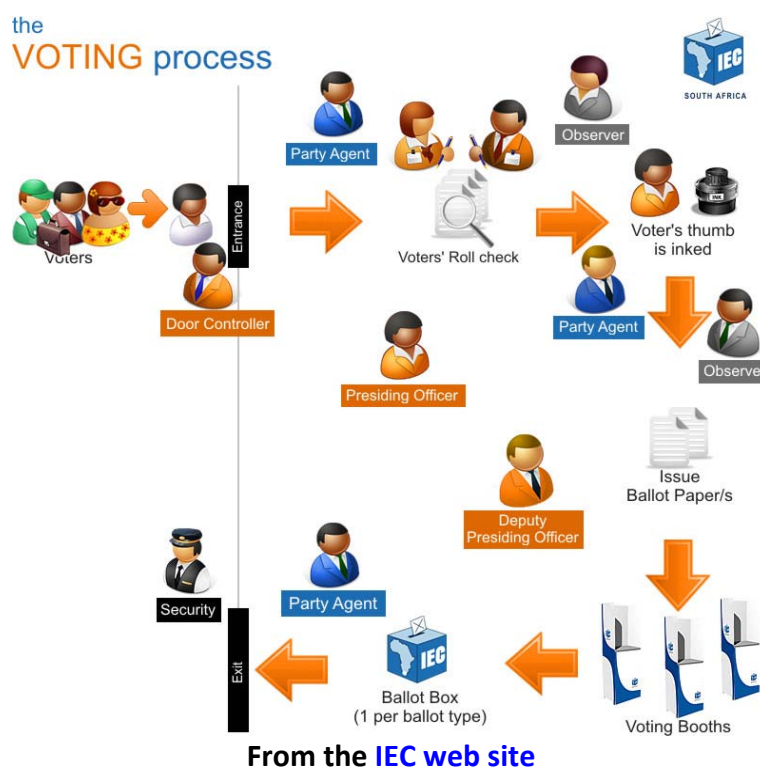
Page from an IEC comic used in the 2009 national elections

This system is unlike the “First Past the Post” system of representation that is used in many other countries, where members are elected by each constituency on the basis of a simple majority in that constituency.

The SACP does not in principle reject the idea of standing candidates for elections, and it used to do so, as the CPSA, before it was banned in 1950. Since 1994 the SACP has not contested any elections at National, Provincial or Municipal level. SACP members are individual members of the ANC and many of them have been chosen at different levels to represent the ANC.

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [Independent Electoral Commission, How do I register?](#)

Induction, Part 8c



More on Elections

Above is a graphic representation of the voting process in a voting station on the day of an election, whether National and Provincial, or Municipal.

Local Authority (Municipal) Elections

Local Authority elections are held every five years in South Africa, on a different cycle to that of the National and Provincial elections. The next ones are expected in 2016.

Councillors are elected by a hybrid system that is half Proportional Representation (PR) and half “First Past the Post” by ward constituency.

So, your ward has an elected councillor, like all the other wards; and then there are an equal number in total of “PR” councillors. These are appointed by the different parties according to the proportions of votes cast, by party.

In South Africa, councillors are salaried and are encouraged to regard themselves as professionals, with skills and capacities. They receive training. One of the consequences is that they develop a second loyalty. The councillors may begin to regard themselves as being representatives of government to the people. Whereas the local branch of the ANC wants the councillor to be their representative, and the people in general expect to be represented by those they elect.

This contradiction is a natural development, given the nature of bourgeois democracy. It causes problems that can be destructive, if not anticipated, and managed.

Once again on Registration

The attached document is a reproduction of the [IEC web site](#) page on registration as a candidate in a Municipal election.

Some other pages with instructions on registration are the following:

How to Register as a voter:

<http://www.elections.org.za/content/Dynamic.aspx?id=569&name=For>

How to Check Registration:

<https://www.elections.org.za/content/Pages/AmIRegistered/VoterRegistrationStatus.aspx>

How to Register a Political Party:

<http://www.elections.org.za/content/Dynamic.aspx?id=558&name=P..>

FAQs: <http://www.elections.org.za/content/Pages/FAQs/Dynamic-FAQ.aspx?id=374&menuid=95&header=For%20voters>

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [How to contest municipal elections](#).



Lusaka Branch of the SACP

SACP VD Branches as Keystones

*The branch, and its members, is the most important part of the ANC – **ANC Branch Manual***

*The basic structure of the SACP is the branch – **SACP Constitution***

The SACP does not have a Branch Manual, as such. The SACP Constitution, which we have already dealt with, describes the branch in a general way.

So for this item, we will give as text the [Umsebenzi Online of 14 February 2013](#), which, among other things, places the Voting District Branches of the SACP in a clear frame of reference relative both to local mass democratic organisation, and to local state institutions. In the main “Red Alert” article of that issue, Dr Blade Nzimande, the General Secretary of the Party, wrote:

“...particular responsibility rests with the voting district (VD)-based branches of the SACP. These structures are closest to the households in our various communities, and the SACP is deliberately restructuring itself to get closer to our communities. We also expect our branch cadres to actively participate in all the sectoral structures at local level, and also ensure that the issue of women’s struggles and dignity is placed at the centre of the activities of these structures. This is in fact the vanguard role that the SACP branch can play at local level.”

While the article is primarily about the struggle against violent abuse of women, yet in passing it makes a very good, concise declaration of the responsibilities and tasks of the relatively-new Voting District branches of the SACP. Dr Nzimande continues:

“The history of the struggles against women’s oppression as well as our own history of the struggle against apartheid tells us that this is a struggle that will be won through hard work on the ground amongst our communities.”

And earlier in the article he says:

“...the struggle to defeat violence against women and children... will in the end be won in organized struggles, led by the working class, for the radical transformation of our socio-economic terrain. But even this struggle on its own will not succeed, unless premised on the organization of women as part of the overall struggle for radical socio-economic transformation.”

Each struggle, like the women’s struggle, has its specific characteristics, but there are general requirements as well, including mass organisation, and including the connectedness of “all the sectoral structures at local level”. The connection is assisted by “the vanguard role that the SACP branch can play at local level”. This defines the role of the Voting District Branch.

Main text: ANC Branch Manual, Part 1

In this work of connecting, it is of extreme importance that the communist cadres understand very well how people in other organisations think about themselves and about the aims of their own organisations.

Therefore it is doubly appropriate to use here, the first part of the ANC Branch Manual. It is not only a generally good guide to organisation at the branch level, and therefore instructive to communists; but also, communists do not have a monopoly on theory, and especially they do not have a monopoly on experience.

If the Chinese doctrine of “the mass line” has any meaning for us, it must be this: that the masses have a very strong sense of who they are, and what they want, and the communists will get nowhere if they do not thoroughly understand the masses’ conception of themselves.

This is why the SACP cadres must be “more ANC than the ANC”, just like the late General Secretary of the SACP and Treasurer-General of the ANC Cde Moses Kotane was.

Picture:

“On Monday the 10th August 2009, Lusaka Branch of the SACP held a Lekgotla a normal gathering of the branch that is convened after the AGM. The Lekgotla takes a form of induction to the general members of the branch and develops a program for the year. The lekgotla ends with a walk by all members and a door to door for 30 minutes in the community, asking community members about their priority needs. Luckily I managed to capture the walk for history, using the advantage that technology comes with. Viva the South African Communist Party Viva!!!”

Diteko Moreotsenye

- The above is to introduce an original reading-texts: [ANC Branch Manual, 2010, Part 1 of 3](#), (or alternatively the [CU Short Version](#), in full, as attached) and [Umsebenzi Online, Mobilising against violence on women, 2013](#).
-

Induction, Part 9a



ANC Branches, Zones and Regions

ANC Branch Manual, Part 2

In this item we will use an unedited portion from the full ANC Branch Manual (attached).

All of the 24 pages of the attached booklet are of use. SACP members need to read and become familiar with them all.

Particular attention could be given to the final part, starting on page 23, called **“Member induction, education and training”**. Ask yourself, how clearly is the distinction made between Induction and Politics?

Note that it says:

“Set up a branch Political Education Committee. Identify the areas in which branch members would benefit from political education. Choose debates on theory (such as Strategy and Tactics) on strategy (such as how to mobilise certain communities); discussions on organisational skills (such as how to run an effective project); or training on practical campaign skills (such as writing a pamphlet or preparing a budget).

“Draw up a programme of political education, ensuring a balance between the different areas and forms of political education and skills training. Liaise with regional and local structures of the Alliance and MDM to ensure coordination of programmes.”

This tells us that the ANC is here drawing distinction between what they call theory, strategy, organisational skills and practical skills, while confirming that all are necessary.

It also tells us that the ANC is in principle ready to combine and share with the Alliance and MDM in a complementary way and to avoid duplication in the matter of political education. The existence of Voting District Branches of the SACP will assist this to happen, opening up the prospect of joint programmes of political education which can also draw in COSATU members in an area, zone or ward, depending on what works locally.

The existence of the Branch Manual itself tells that the ANC wants to “induct” in the sense of making people aware of all aspects of the organisation, as early as possible in their ANC life.

Please study it well, comrades, including the other two parts.

- **The above is to introduce an original reading-text: ANC Branch Manual, 2010, Part 2 of 3.**



SA Government

Ward Committees, CPFs, SGBs, IDPs, LED

The Communist University course on “Induction” is one of the most voluminous to date by the number of texts used, and in this item today there are four, which come on top of the three texts already used in this 9th part of the course.

In part 7 we have already looked at the problematic question of the Communes and the Communal Councils of Venezuela, asking, in effect, who exercises agency in such structures? Is it the people who are co-opted into them? Or is it the government department “of the People’s Power” that co-opts them, and funds them, that calls the shots?

We then looked at the specifically South African mass democratic organisations, the ANC, the Leagues, COSATU, SANCO, the YCL and others, and in the following Part 8 we introduced the South African “Local State” and the mechanisms of voting for the state democracy, organised by the Demarcations Board and by the Independent Electoral Commission (the IEC).

In this part, so far, we have looked at the Party (SACP) and the Liberation Movement (ANC) as components of an alliance and of a broader local network, held together by the cadres of the SACP and the ANC. Both SACP and ANC express such a vision, in the documents we shared.

Minister of the People's Power

Now we return to the problematic that was set out in the first item of Part 7, in connection with the interview of Reinaldo Iturriza, Venezuelan Minister of the People's Power for the Communes and Social Protection. But this time we look at it in terms of South Africa, and South African politicians and intellectuals. We begin with Professor Steven Friedman, who wrote, among other things in the attached article (see attached), prior to the 2011 municipal elections, the following:

“... [Ward] committees were established to enable ward councillors to discover what local voters want. They have never done that... they remain part of the problem, because committees chosen by politicians or small groups will never give grassroots citizens a voice... there is only one way of asking everyone in a ward which candidate they want - it is called an election.” (Business Day, 4 May 2011)

Friedman was responding to a radio discussion featuring the then Deputy Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs Minister Yunus Carrim, who, Friedman said, “made it clear he understands the problem”, but who was nevertheless determined to persist with the ward committees.

We, too, can see that Carrim understands the problem, from the lecture that Carrim gave the following day (5 May 2011). It is the second attached document. It concludes with a section headed ‘Towards a Dialectic of “Invited” and “Invented” Spaces’ (see page 19 of the booklet). Yunus Carrim in this section is reacting to a publication of the NGO-sponsored “GGLN”, which, in 135 pages of ostensible examination of the “community voice”, treats “party-political” voting democracy as an alien intrusion. “Vote” is just another word for “voice”, by the way, but the GGLN is not concerned about that. For them, the second guess is always better.

The GGLN document sets up an argument between “invitation” (i.e. co-option) and “invention” (i.e. agency) that is an echo of John Turner’s question, “[Who Decides?](#)” Carrim suggests being “dialectical”, not so as to resolve the contradiction, or go forward with it, but only to evade it. He says that dialectical means complementary. It’s a pity that our comrade would want to sacrifice such a profound concept for the sake of making such a small gain, over so trivial an opposition.

Actually, Yunus Carrim, in this moment at least, was more similar to the NGOs of the GGLN than Friedman was, because Friedman is committed to democratic elections. Friedman is not behaving, like the “GGLN” is, as if 1994 means nothing, and as if the vote is now something contemptible, to be second-guessed by all possible means.

Yunus Carrim says he understands that 1994 was a product of mass popular agency, but that for him it could just as well mean that the “invited” space of co-option, such as ward committees, was the fitting outcome of the liberation struggle. See if you can follow his argument.

A week later, Yunus Carrim responded to Friedman’s article, but only managed to dig himself deeper into the hole he was digging before (see the third attached document).

Minister's Power

Carrim kept pressing on after that, and he did manage, as he indicated he would in this May, 2011 article (*"The ANC's 2012 Conference will provide guidelines on improving ward committees and other forms of community participation"*) to get an endorsement of ward committees inserted into the ANC resolution on Legislature and Governance passed at the 53rd ANC National Conference in Mangaung, in December 2012 (fourth attachment).

There it remains. As political and mass democratic organisations, locally, we have to live with this incubus, this cuckoo in the nest, called the ward committee. It takes away our cadres, and it creates a track of decision-making that is beyond the reach and out of sight of the voter, and of the mass organisations.

What about Community-Police Forums (CPFs), School Governing Bodies (SGBs), and Integrated Development Plans (IDPs)? What about "Local Economic Development" (LED)? The Party should try to know what all of these bodies are doing, and what the Ward Committee is doing.

What is dangerous to political life is the removal of any part of it to a secluded area where it is no longer part of the common polity. It is not the fact that these actors are in the field that is wrong. But if they do their business in secret, over the heads of the common people, that is wrong. That is one thing that makes people very angry.

"Nothing about us without us" is a good slogan, with South African characteristics.

The Party in the localities must be an agent of transparency, including with its own activities. Trust the people; "The masses can never be wrong," said Oliver Reginald Tambo, meaning that if we are standing outside the people, accusing them, then right as we may think ourselves to be, but we are out of the game.

[Thusong Service Centres](#) are one-stop municipal service access points dotted around a municipality or a metro. This model is how government can usefully be present in the localities, with open access and practical rights available on demand.

- **The above is to introduce these original reading-texts: [Friedman, Carrim, 2011; ANC's 53rd National Conference, 2012.](#)**

Induction, Part 9c



Two, Three, Many Red Forums

COSATU Locals, Socialist Forums

COSATU Locals are combinations of trade unionists in a locality, corresponding roughly to a Region of the ANC or a District of the SACP, where members of different affiliates of COSATU gather to discuss trade union matters of common interest. They are similar to the area Trade Union Councils or “Trades Councils” of Great Britain, which were the historical precursors of the national federation in that country, the TUC.

Socialist Forums are periodical, if possible regular, gatherings of trade unionists, communist party members and others to discuss matters of a socialist nature, and to conduct “umrabulo”.

“Umrabulo” is a word with South African characteristics, meaning self-help political education. See the attached document for a description of Socialist Forums as understood by the SACP, taken from the SACP web site.

These initiatives are by nature local and will be a product of original work, custom and practice in the various localities, influenced by the leading personalities in the places where these institutions have taken root.

The attached document includes a comparative note on the role of Chairpersons, Secretaries, **Presidents and General Secretaries** in the three main components of our Alliance.

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [Socialist Forums, General Secretaries and Presidents, 2013.](#)



Party Districts

According to the SACP Constitution, a District, consisting of not less than 10 branches, is formed by a Provincial Executive Committee, according to a policy framework drawn up by the Central Committee, after consultation with the PECs, to determine the boundaries of districts. The SACP constitution was amended at the 13th National Congress, in July 2012, to allow for the formation by District Executive Committees of Sub-Districts consisting of not less than 500 members or 5 branches.

Below the Districts and the Sub-Districts (where these exist) are the Branches of the Party. The SACP Constitution says: **“The basic structure of the SACP is the branch, to be formed at a residential area or workplace, and every member shall be obliged to belong to a branch.”**

The attached document is the chapter on “Strengthening the Vanguard Party” from the “South African Road to Socialism” (SARS) document, passed at the same 13th SACP National Congress. Among other things, the SARS document says: “All our branches must be based on voting districts” (page 124).

The attached document is extracted, without any editing of the text, from the full SARS document, which is downloadable from the SACP web site, or by [clicking this link](#) (744 KB PDF). The text does contain some obvious errors and incomplete sentences.

On page 124 and 125 of the SARS, a scheme of political schools is laid out. The Communist University has prepared material in a format that can be used in political schools of any practical size. These are half-day modules. They can be put together to create schools for up to a week or more, if required. The number of half-day modules that are prepared at this point is twelve.

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [SACP SARS Chapter 11, Strengthening the Vanguard Party](#).



Decade of the Cadre

"A cadre's life is lived within the framework of multi-faceted relationships. It is these relations that make a cadre a cadre. In these relationships, a cadre is at the same time the cause and effect. A cadre cannot be conceived outside of an organisation, for a cadre is an element of an organisation..."

"The essential duty of cadreship and leadership is to agitate for the political consciousness of the people, to mobilise, and continuously organise people as a conscious force to seize and maintain political power."

The above words are taken from the attached document, "Theory of organisation", an article written by Cde Nathi Mthethwa, and published in the ANC's theoretical magazine "Umrabulo" of the 1st Quarter of 2013.

The ANC 53rd National Conference resolved to make the next decade a period of focus on cadre development, calling it "The Decade of the Cadre".

The second attached document is a report of a speech by the Secretary-General of the ANC in May, 2013. He said, among other things:

"This year, it's the beginning of the decade of the cadre."

"There is a difference between a member and a cadre, you have to go through a process to become a cadre."

So we go forward.

- The above is to introduce original reading-texts: [Nathi Mthethwa, Theory of organisation, Umrabulo 1st Quarter 2013](#); and [ANC wants reliable cadres, says Mantashe, 2013](#).



Trade Union Revival

This item represents a fast-moving situation wherein the South African working class has an objective need to increase its degree of organisation dramatically.

According to statistics, there are nearly 14 million people working in SA, but only about 3 million of these are organised in trade unions, and only about 2.2 million of those are in COSATU-affiliated unions.

At the same time, there is a new phenomenon now appearing in South Africa that we call “vigilante trade unionism”. This phenomenon is described in the attached document, which is an extract from the Statement of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party of 2 June 2013.

The communists are partisans of the working class. They cannot shirk the task of getting the working class organised into primary mass democratic organisation. It is a necessary condition for the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) to exist. The extension of mass democratic organisation is what the NDR consists of, and the main and leading part of it is the organisation of workers.

- The above is to introduce an original reading-text: [SACP CC Statement, 2 June 2013](#).
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Organised Women, The Fifth Alliance Partner

In the Induction Course, we have tried to convey a picture of the set of democratic institutions that exist and to which we must give continuous new life, and expansion.

This picture should, and will have to, include organised women.

We have said, in our course “No Woman, No Revolution”, that the ANC Women’s League is an ANC for women, and that the Progressive Women’s Movement is not a mass democratic organisation.

Therefore there is no mass democratic organisation of woman that can at this moment take up the position in the above graphic, to represent women within the National Democratic Revolutionary (NDR) Alliance, along side of the other components, as illustrated.

This we leave once again as a “problematic”. It is one that must be solved before the revolution can be successful.

- The above is to introduce original reading-texts: Look at [No Woman, No Revolution](#).

Course: Induction

24002, Induction, Intro Booklet 2 of 2

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